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OR

THE FUTURE OF CIVILIZATION

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S. RADHAKRISHNAN

HIND KITABS LIMITED
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1. INTRODUCTION

CIVILIZATION today seems to be passing through one of its periodic crises. The world is casting off its old garments. Standards, aims, and institutions which were generally accepted even a generation ago are now challenged and changing. Old motives are weakening and new forces are springing up. Anyone who has an insight into the mind of the age is vividly conscious of its restlessness and uncertainty, its dissatisfaction with the existing economic and social conditions and its yearning for the new order which is not yet realized. All this confusion of thought and unstable enthusiasms for ill-defined ideals show that humanity is about to take a new step forward.

One of the chief factors in this unsettlement is modern science. Though science is not peculiar to our civilization, its pace of progress has become latterly too fast and its range too wide and deep for our quick adaptation. If we take an animal out of its normal environment and thrust it into another, it is bound to feel restless and uneasy until it adjusts itself to the new situation. When the Bishop of Ripon suggested a scientific holiday for a short period of time, he meant to warn us that, while science is progressing pretty fast furnishing us with new inventions, man the user of them is not refining himself at an equal rate.

The world is becoming outwardly uniform. Europe and America as well as Asia and Africa are moving in the same direction, only the former faster than the latter. The motor-car, the aeroplane, and the pictures, which are the potent symbols of modernization, are visible even in the most backward countries. From China to Mexico there is increasing faith in the progress depending on the continued expansion of man's command over the resources and control of the powers of nature.

India and China are being sucked into the maëlstrom. The unrest in the East is due to the new consciousness that, if the Oriental nations are not to decay and die, they must strive to stand as equals alongside of other nations whose spirit of enterprise and power of organization have spread their sway to the uttermost parts of the earth. The East and the West are not so sharply divided as the alarmists would make us believe. The products of spirit and intelligence, the positive sciences, the engineering techniques, the governmental forms, the legal regulations, the administrative arrangements, and the economic institutions are binding together peoples of varied cultures and bringing them into closer reciprocal contact. The world today is tending to function as one organism.

The outer uniformity has not, however, resulted in an inner unity of mind and spirit. The new nearness into which we are drawn has not meant increasing happiness and diminishing friction, since we are not mentally and spiritually prepared for the meeting. Maxim Gorky relates how, after addressing a peasant audience on the subject of science and the marvels of technical inventions, he was criticized by a peasant spokesman in the following words: "Yes, we are taught to fly in the air like birds, and to swim in the water like the fishes, but how to live on the earth we do not know." Among the races, religions, and nations which live side by side on the small globe, there is not that sense of fellowship necessary for good life. They rather feel themselves to be antagonistic forces. Though humanity has assumed a uniform outer body, it is still without a single animating spirit. The world is not of one mind.

Spengler's thesis in his remarkable work on *The Decline of the West* that different nations have different cultures expressive of distinctive ideals is rather damaging to any hope of the development of a common culture or

civilization. His fascinating hypothesis that races and cultures are units which undergo a rhythmically ordered sequence of birth, growth, decline, and decay does not seem to be quite adequate for the facts. In the past, perhaps, regional civilizations succeeded one another or passed through the phases of infancy, youth, maturity, and old age, and, when they decayed, they left their inheritance to the younger ones which sprang up after them. The possibilities in this direction are practically exhausted. The period of provincial civilizations confined to limited areas is drawing towards its close. Nor can we with any certainty look upon the history of humanity as a single continuous movement which later divided itself into separate streams on account of differences in *milieu* and native endowment. Ascertained facts suggest that the different cultures developed along their own lines for a very long time, inclined latterly towards each other, and are now tending to unite themselves in one mighty whole. When Spengler tells us that Western culture is passing through its old age in obedience to an inexorable destiny against which it would be futile to revolt, the truth that his view contains is a much larger one—namely, that all provincial civilizations are tending to pass away and we are about to make a new experiment in the art of life on a world-wide scale. No single historical culture or civilization can lay claim to an absolute universality, for each of them is the expression of the living forces of a group of individuals. In these matters there is no other logic than that of history, and history does not know an abstract universal man, and so there can be no universal civilization. The future civilization will have to rise to a universal vision of man and human life. The provincial cultures of the past and the present have not always been loyal to the true interests of the human race. They stood for racial, religious, and political monopolies, for the supremacy of men over women and of the rich over

the poor. Before we can build a stable civilization worthy of humanity as a whole, it is necessary that each historical civilization should become conscious of its limitations and its unworthiness to become the ideal civilization of the world.

While the triumph of mechanical inventions provides a common basis for the civilization of the future, the breakdown of traditional systems of thought, belief, and practice is the necessary preparation for the building of a spiritual unity. The leaven is at work among all the peoples, especially among the youth who are unwilling to be mere clay in the hands of others, be they ever so old or wise. There is a quickened consciousness, a sense of something inadequate and unsatisfactory in the ideas and conceptions we have held and a groping after new values. Dissolution is in the air. The old forms of faith are tottering. Among the thoughtful men of every creed and country there is a note of spiritual wistfulness and expectancy.

If we leave aside the fanatics with whom no argument is possible, the leaders of every historical civilization today are convinced that mankind in all its extent and history is a single organism, worshipful in its growing majesty and capable of a progress to which none dare set any bounds. Dante proclaimed: "There is not one goal for this civilization and one for that, but for the civilization of all mankind there is a single goal." If there is a single goal for all civilization, it does not mean that all shall speak a common tongue or profess a common creed, or that all shall live under a single government, or all shall follow an unchanging pattern in customs and manners. The unity of civilization is not to be sought in uniformity but in harmony. Every great culture is due to the blending of peoples of different ideals and temperaments. Egypt and Babylon, India and China, Greece and Rome, testify to this truth. Today the circle of those who participate in the cultural

synthesis has become wider and includes practically the whole world. The faith of the future is in co-operation and not identification, in accommodation to fellow-men and not imitation of them, in toleration and not absolutism.

2. THE NEGATIVE RESULTS

Religion

In the sphere of religion the situation is most intriguing in the East no less than in the West. The sciences of psychology and sociology, biology and anthropology are undermining the foundations of orthodox theology in every historical religion. The varied accounts of religious experience seem to support the fashionable view that God is but a shadow of the human mind, a dream of the human heart. Religious geniuses who speak to us of 'the other world' are fit subjects for investigation in mental hospitals. The traditional arguments do not carry conviction to the modern mind. If everything has a cause, then God has a cause. If God can be without a cause, even the world can be without one. An imperfect universe as ours cannot be the work of a clever and capable God. History does not bear witness to the spirit of God. M. Loisy observes: "The historian does not remove God from history; he never encounters him there." Our yearning for a juster world where all the mistakes are set right and tears wiped away shows, if anything, the unjust character of this world. No tangible evidence of God's existence, no proof which will enable us to say: "Lo! he is here" or "Lo! he is there" is forthcoming. The silence of God when men are asking for signs is the strongest proof of atheism. If some happen to cling desperately to a faith in God in spite of all this, it is a matter not so much for surprise as for regret. Their faith is as frail as the straw clutched at by a drowning man, whatever the theologians, who have vested interests, might say.

The systems of theology are playing upon the credulity of man when they invent stories about, say, an angry God who, clamouring for retribution or making a bargain

with his enemy, condemns mankind to endless and inconceivable agony though, in a different mood, he himself graciously devises an artificial remedy for this imaginary injustice, all because he had so predestined it before the world began. These stories of the supernatural are but fairy tales of the world's childhood. The textbooks of the past are not of much help in solving the problems of the present. Any attempt to interpret ancient Scriptures to suit modern demands may show reverence for the past but not intellectual honesty. Religion is a pursuit of infantile minds, with which the bold thinkers have nothing to do. There is no God and we are the instruments of a cold, passionless fate to whom virtue is nothing and vice nothing and from whose grasp we escape to utter darkness.

There are others who hold that, though there is no positive evidence for the existence of God, we cannot be sure that there is no God. Let us affirm nothing and deny nothing. Those inclined to be more friendly to religion give God the benefit of the doubt, unwillingly to desert him in his difficulty. The strict agnostic, however, holds that it is impertinent for a mere mortal to say that God is not, when he does not know who or what God is. He stands midway between the two dogmatisms of atheism and fundamentalism. He has not the sublime confidence of either but feels that the problem is beyond him.

Some believe in the pragmatic value of the theistic doctrine, though they have no use for religion as trust in God or communion with the unseen. We are not so much concerned with the salvation of the soul as with the improvement of the world. We can *use* religion for the latter purpose as it contributes to social peace and betterment.

The majority in every religious community wish to have the comforts of religion without the discomfort of thinking and are resorting to blind faith. Their eyes are turned towards the past which in their view contains the whole

accumulated wisdom of human experience. Only the dead really live and should rule the living. In their effort to attain spiritual freedom many seek shelter in an excessive individualism; others give themselves up to naturalism. Some are satisfied with scepticism and negation. Chaos reigns.

Family Life

A number of factors, such as the disorganization brought about by the last war, economic conditions favouring late marriages, the passion for self-expression, weakened parental control, inadequate sex-education, Freudian psychology, and the knowledge of the methods of birth-control which saves us from the fear of natural consequences have brought about a laxity in standards. Women are rightly refusing to be bound by a code different from that which applies to men. The old ideals of a fundamental distinction between masculine and feminine natures or male and female minds are given up. The ideal of virginity which the men persuaded the women to accept has largely lost its hold. Women as much as men, we are told, are wayward creatures full of roving passions who prefer romance to routine. They are insisting with great force and much success on being not our superiors or inferiors but our equals in constancy as well as in inconstancy. Sexual license is an old habit, as old as the human race, but we justify it by giving it a new name, self-expression. Looseness is commended in good fiction and accepted in high society.[1] The woman who 'sins' because of economic

1 Judge Ben. B. Lindsey, for over twenty-six years associated with the Juvenile and Family Court of Denver, Colorado, in his disconcerting book on *The Revolt of Modern Youth*, estimates that one girl in every ten between the ages of fourteen to seventeen is guilty of sex-delinquency, and between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one, the percentage is much higher. "Of all the youth who go to parties, attend dances, and ride together in automobiles more than 90 per

necessity is being driven out of business by the amateur intent on indulging her cravings while preserving her conscience. Many 'sin' not so much out of passion as owing to a feeling that a married woman ought to have lovers. Sexual promiscuity is getting to be regarded in some circles as a social duty. Since social rules happen to be favourable to men and unfavourable to women, most of the latter do not want to be bound by them. However lax, partial, and therefore unjust they may be, they are difficult and dangerous to assail. Economic independence with freedom from the ties of marriage and the responsibilities of motherhood is the ambition of many a young woman of the growing 'smart set'. Divorces are increasing in numbers and children are pushed back and forth between the parents whose only communications with each other are through their solicitors.

Four different attitudes reveal themselves in this connexion. The fundamentalists reassert conventional views and declare solemnly that if marriage without love is tragic, love without marriage is hell on earth. Unhallowed union even when redeemed by love is a crime, while any kind of marriage, even when it is utterly devoid of love, is a virtue.

The social idealists tell us that a fixed code for a changing world is an impossibility. It is no use dwelling too long on the heights of idealism. If we descend to the plane of the practical, we shall see the contrast between high-sounding principles and laxity of action. Our conventional views do not give large numbers of women a

cent indulge in hugging and kissing, and at least 50 per cent who begin with hugging and kissing do not restrict themselves to that." Though he declares that what is true of Denver is "even more true for every city and town in the United States", we are inclined to think that conditions are not really so bad and wish to believe that the picture is slightly overdrawn.

satisfying sex-life. In a country like Great Britain, for example, we have two million more women than men. The decreasing faith in religious life is reducing the chances of religious Orders absorbing the surplus of women. If, in these conditions, we insist on the ideal of monogamy, we are condemning large numbers of women to a life of celibacy. But compulsory celibacy is a contradiction. The victims of the conventional codes are not anxious to be sexually starved. Some naturally become neurotics, for a starved sensibility means an anguished soul. Most of them who are unable to marry are devising other means of sexual expression and we are obliged to connive at the irregularities. While polygamy is illegal, its practice is real. By fostering vulgarity, deceit, and disease, practical polygamy degrades all concerned. Besides, it is senseless to make young people promise that they will cling to each other till death parts them. Love is safe only in the absence of a contract of perpetual obligation. 'Trial marriages' seem to be the only solution of the problem of social unrest.

The sceptics are sure that we cannot revert to the past, but the present makes their hearts sink. When they see how Divorce Courts are continually dissolving families into their units, setting them free to enter into new combinations, while children are drafted hither and thither into new homes where parental authority and wholesome example are lacking, they hold up their hands in despair. They do not know how they can help the situation, and so surrender themselves to the inevitable. They are drifting and not advancing, waiting for something to turn up.

The bolder spirits declare that life is the end of life. The timid who are afraid to live are to be pitied, for they miss the excitement and the joy of life. They are content to shuffle through life without ever facing it with open eyes. The heroic 'sin' with rare delight. Passion is its

own excuse for being. Innocent joys of the body are not pollutions of the soul. There is nothing wrong in seeking physical understanding with those with whom we have intellectual affinities and spiritual kinship. Men may hold some things right and some things wrong, but nature holds all things fair. Adopting an attitude of naturalistic atheism, they contend that the mechanical forces which have momentarily met together so as to form an agreeable human frame may some day separate themselves with the same indifference with which they came together, and while yet the chance is open, it is best to grasp it. If we want to live completely, beautifully, adventurously, we must taste deeply of the cup of life before death snatches it away. With the members of this class, it is no more a sign of good manners to veil one's appetites. There is no need for repression and concealment. Life is an adventure. Exercise of energy is the only good. Those who uphold conventional morality suffer from a low blood-count and are unable to understand why other normal people yield to stimuli to which their nature does not respond. These advocates of rampant individualism are impatient of any curb on their own desires and resentful of any claim that will interfere with the free course of their life. They dismiss moral restraint as antiquated humbug and piety as mere superstition. Adultery is only the outward sign of inner freedom. Established institutions happen to be the most powerful enemies of life and so they must be turned down before we can build a better social order.

Economic Relations

The theory of *laissez faire* is slowly losing ground. Society cannot be regarded as a piece of mechanism which will adjust itself automatically through the operation of the forces of freedom of contract and competition. Economic

individualism has resulted in a small upper layer of fastidious life and luxury and a broad lower level of poverty and suffering. This state of affairs is not inevitable. The conviction that the individual and society are both moulded by external conditions over which we have no control is not generally accepted.

Machines were expected to relieve us of mechanical drudgery and give us more time for cultural and artistic pursuits. They have undoubtedly lightened human toil, but have also added somewhat to human drudgery. Modern industrialism based on a minute subdivision of labour has robbed the worker of the sense of craft. Mystery, beauty, and reverence have no place in the workshop. The craftsman has become a mechanic, a mere tool for the ends of greater production. The monotonous piece of work exhausts the body without interesting the mind. The development of intelligence and character which skilful creative work produces is now sought in other activities. The workers seek their pleasure outside their work. They claim higher wages and more leisure and opportunities for education and enlightenment, recreation and relaxation. But the leisure won after so much effort is wasted in costly excitements. The Times Square, the Piccadilly Circus, and the Chowringhee spin and toil night and day devising expensive amusements by which leisure could be chased out of existence and some relief obtained from the dead emptiness of normal life.[1] Leisure is not used for satisfying the higher impulses which are thwarted or repressed in the hours of toil. It has become a questionable blessing. Factory-workers live in slums and nourish their souls in pubs and cabarets. The maxim that

1 William Archer truly observes: "Vice is a refuge from boredom, from that sense of emptiness and tedium that overtakes the idle brain, or the brain benumbed by soulless, uninteresting labour."—*Knowledge and Character*, p. 5. Moral Education League, London, 1916.

"Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also" is true of communities as well as of individuals. If we want to know what things an individual or a community values most, we have only to ask how the leisure is spent. The appalling amount of human frustration does not cheer us. Every religion tells us that labour, rest, and worship are the three essential needs of man. Through labour we are expected to know other men in the fellowship of common effort and contribute to their well-being. Through rest we are called upon to know ourselves in the freedom of thought and self-determination. Through worship we are enjoined to know the spirit of the universe and the purpose of it all. Today labour is a means of isolating man from man and deadening his social instincts; rest is used for blinding the eyes of the mind and worship for coarsening the spiritual fibre by the acceptance of lower values. We are unable to bear loneliness. It is sheer desolation to be left alone in labour, rest, or worship. We must work in factories, enjoy in crowds, go out in parties, sin in company, and worship in congregations. Quiet evenings at home, solitary walks in the country, the cultivation of spirit and meditation seem to be boring. Ours is truly a sleepless generation. Leisure is the mother of all art and philosophy, literature and religion, even as necessity is the mother of all science and invention. The tyranny of a high power civilization hardly leaves us any time for the saner pursuits of the mind. It is inimical to that repose, detachment, and concentration of spirit without which genuine reflection cannot go on. Greater knowledge has not resulted in greater wisdom.

Besides, the industrial age has made us worshippers of wealth. We are practically certain that it is only by getting rich that we can pass through the eye of a needle. Wealth is the passport to the kingdom of heaven. Success by any means and at any price has become our ideal. In

the social hierarchy, anyone who has the luck or the ability to make money occupies a high place. Before the advent of industrial revolution, we had other standards of social valuation. Saints, men of learning, poets and philosophers were at the top of the social scale. Those whose eminence, literary or spiritual, is independent of worldly circumstance had the right to lead. The days when poverty could be clean, healthy, and self-respecting are over. Money-making has become one of the most popular industries of the world.

The most serious consequence of the industrial movement is the passing away of the home. We see it in America and in Russia. Where every member aspires for economic independence, family-ties are weakened. Men and women work outside their home, and the children when they are not asleep at home work in school or college and amuse themselves in the football field or the cinema hall. With regard to Russia, let us hear Trotsky. In his *Problems of Life*, he writes: "Gigantic events have descended on the family in its old shape, the war and the revolution. . . . we need more socialistic economic reforms. Only under such conditions can we free the family from the functions and cares that now oppress and disintegrate it. Washing must be done by a public laundry, catering by a public restaurant, sewing by a public workshop. Children must be educated by good public teachers who have a real vocation for the work. Then the bond between husband and wife would be freed from everything external and accidental, and the one would cease to absorb the life of the other." In short, neither a woman's place nor a man's is the home.

An industrial age believes in the creation of new wants. The consumer's appetite grows by what it feeds on. To want more, and to get more, is the way of material progress. By means of this exciting competition we are

concealing from ourselves the barrenness of life. Our machine age caters for the general needs of the public to the exclusion of the individual whims. Art goes to the wall.

Politics

Democracy is passing through a testing time. As a political arrangement it is not very popular. It has broken down in Italy and in Spain. Russia and China are not favourably disposed to it. Even in parts of Eastern Europe and of South America where the semblance of popular representative government is kept up, strong misgivings are felt. Lord Bryce expressed doubts about the feasibility of a real democracy except in small countries like Switzerland and Scandinavia.

We welcomed democracy as a release from autocratic rule, but we are not satisfied with its working today. We are coming to realize that government is a technical art and only those skilled in it can be the rulers. Democracy in its actual working rarely permits a country to be governed by its ablest men.

It is an age of machines in politics too. In the name of democracy, some mysterious caucus in the background rules the State. The elected representatives have not any independence or initiative, since they are helpless tools of a vast machine. The votes of the members are not influenced by their innermost convictions or the arguments in the assembly or even the views of their constituencies. The discussion is unreal, the debate unnecessary, and democracy is only a name.

The general effects of democracy have not been favourable to the freedom of the individual. In Europe and in America, which are said to be the most democratic and highly individualistic, individual life is least regarded. In the land of liberty, fundamentalism, Ku Klux Klan, and Nordic assaults on all other races and cultures prevail.

There are organizations which threaten dissenting politicians with personal reprisals. In Soviet Russia no man is allowed to choose what he will do. As technical efficiency is the end, every man is fitted into the machine at a point chosen by the guides and trained for it. There is no liberty of action or freedom of conscience.

Democracy has become confused with ignorance, lack of discipline, and low tastes. Our newspapers testify to them. A democracy which reads mainly about divorces and murders, dance-halls and police-courts is cultured only in a superficial sense. Though educational facilities are within the reach of large numbers, the level of culture is not high. It has become more easy to get into a college and more difficult to get educated. We are taught to read but not trained to think. Popular education, thanks also to the Press, the film, and the wireless, has succeeded in furnishing the average mind scrappily, though somewhat effectively, with ill-digested bits of Freud and Jung, Behaviourism and contraception, and various odds and ends. Those who know better are afraid to speak out but keep step with the average mind. Uncriticized mass-impulses, crowd-emotions and class-resentments have taken the place of authority and tradition. We have not the time or the competence to judge about the problems that face us; nor have we the inclination to trust the leaders who have a proportioned perspective. As the mass is the most significant factor, its opinions prevail over those of the thinking few. A sort of Gresham's law of mental currency by which good, well-considered opinion is being constantly driven out by that which is hasty, impulsive, and bad operates.

There is a tendency in all democracies to standardize thought and belief. Our minds work mechanically. This mechanizing of mind is deadly to all creative enterprise. The highest creations are evolved not as the result of

thinking according to a pattern but as the outcome of insight, hard reflection, and solitary meditation of men who are lifted above the common groove. Paradoxical as it may seem, democracy in its actual workings is anti-democratic. Its central motive is respect for the individual. "Man, be thyself", said Ibsen, and our democracies demand that we conform to a more or less conventional pattern where the inner life runs the risk of being starved. There can be no progress in thought if we all begin to agree in our ideas.

There can be no political equality where there is so much economic inequality. Labour, socialist, and communist organizations are attempting to capture the State and its machinery for the end of establishing a better social order. So national barriers are broken down and class-antagonisms emphasized. Patriotism is a bourgeois sentiment and the workers must be rescued from the shackles of nationalist prejudices. "My country is my class," says the Bolshevist, and until the class-antagonisms are set at rest there cannot be true democracy.

The political life of a community depends on the number of independent minds and wills which compose it. The play of thought and action is essential for the health of a community. This cannot be had in the present arrangement. We must strive for some better way of conducting human affairs than the lottery of the ballot-box.

International Relations

The international situation is not likely to hearten a lover of humanity. The nations plead for peace and prepare for war. They are not ready to give up the cast of mind that leads to strife. They still thank God that they are not as other people are. They are convinced that the race to which they happen to belong is the purest and the best, the religion in which they are born is the hope of

the world, and their nation the leader of mankind. From the nursery we cultivate this conceit of nationalism by the waving of flags and the blowing of bugles, by the songs of patriotism and the hymns of hate. Each nation in the late war claimed to be the only one engaged in the defence of civilization. In its name each nation justified everything, excused everything, massacres and destruction. Before a human being can make a beast of himself and rush forward to kill brother-man with the same fierceness and ferocity as the hound hunts the fox to its death, his higher nature must be consumed by the fire of hatred and the passion for victory. By a judicious circulation of half-truths and untruths and a persistent misrepresentation of other nations and their cultures, the people are roused to the temper of the jungle. Some street-orator uses stories and incidents with the same skill and the same purpose with which Antony held up Caesar's blood-stained mantle. "O piteous spectacle! O most bloody sight! Revenge! Burn! Fire! Kill! Slay!" How true was Heine's little boy who said to his father who had taken him to witness the splendours of a review: "These soldiers were once men." They are now without will, without soul and without hope, cogs in a machine to which they have been taught to bow down and which they will more or less willingly worship. Reasonable men are turned into will-less slaves. When the trumpet of war blows, the pretences of civilization disappear and man helplessly reels back into the beast. War with its devastated fields and ruined cities, with its millions of dead and more millions of maimed and wounded, its broken-hearted and defiled women and its starved children bereft of their natural protection, its hate and atmosphere of lies and intrigue is an outrage on all that is human. So long as this devil-dance does not disgust us, we cannot pretend to be civilized. It is no good preventing cruelty to animals

and building hospitals for the sick and poor-houses for the destitute so long as we are willing to mow down masses of men by machine-guns and poison non-combatants, including the aged and the infirm, women and children—and all for what? For the glory of God and the honour of the nation!

It is quite true that we attempt to regulate war, as we cannot suppress it; but the attempt cannot succeed. For war symbolizes the spirit of strife between two opposing national units which is to be settled by force. When we allow the use of force as the only argument to put down opposition, we cannot rightly discriminate between one kind of force and another. We must put down opposition by mobilizing all the forces at our disposal. There is no real difference between a stick and a sword, or gunpowder and poison-gas. So long as it is the recognized method of putting down opposition, every nation will endeavour to make its destructive weapons more and more efficient. War is its only law and the highest virtue is to win, and every nation has to tread this terrific and deadly road. To approve of warfare but criticize its methods, it has been well said, is like approving of the wolf eating the lamb but criticizing its table-manners. War is war and not a game of sport to be played according to rules.

It is true that internationalism is growing. Economists warn us that war does not pay. It is bad business. Some of us are growing pacifist by policy, though not by conviction. The spirit of internationalism is but skin-deep. Except a small minority in each country who remained heroically faithful to its principles, the rest sacrificed their humanity at the altar of their country in the last war. Even the dignitaries of the Church proved themselves to be of the school of Mephistopheles, "who built God a church and laughed his word to scorn." Churches were turned into recruiting offices. The fanatic appeals of all

sides to the Almighty must have confused God himself, and the frame of mind in which the onlookers were is well expressed in J. C. Squire's quatrain:

God heard the embattled nations shout
"Gott strafe England!" and "God save the King!"—
God this, God that, and God the other thing.
"Good God!" said God, "I've got my work cut out."

It is true that we have the League of Nations, but it is only a mechanical frame and the soul has still to grow into its body. The spirit of ill-will and distrust is widespread. Internationalism is only an idea cherished by a few and not a part of human psychology. Ten years after the peace, the sky is not clearer than it was in August, 1914. Europe has a million more men under arms than there were before the war. No nation is anxious to lay low in the soul of the people the spirit of superiority and the conceit of world mission that breed wars. Every nation says "We are the ones", and the patriot is he who follows the maxim of Theodore Roosevelt who affirmed that "for a citizen to share with another country the love that he owes exclusively to his own country is as indecent and dishonourable as for a husband to share with another woman the love he owes exclusively to his wife." With national hatreds and ambitions peace is nothing more than an armistice. The cynical maxims of Machiavelli govern state policies and the nations are out for selfish domination and not unselfish co-operation.

3. THE PROBLEM

Philosophy in the larger sense of the term is the unseen foundation on which the structure of a civilization rests. It is the soul which slowly builds for itself a body. The organized habits and institutions of a community help its members to realize its chosen values, its reading of the meaning of life, and its purpose. When we praise or condemn a civilization we have in view its scale of values.

Ancient Hindu wisdom and Greek thought agree in regarding the human individual as a replica of the universe. He has a body which has weight and measure like the metals, organization like the plants, sensibility and movement like the animals, and in addition reason and spiritual aspiration. Broadly speaking the human self is a trinity of body, mind, and spirit. Our physical being, which is not much different from that of the ape, testifies to our animal and vegetable ancestry. Professor Elliot Smith asserts that the human brain shows no formation of any sort other than that of the brain of the chimpanzee. Some of our mental qualities also point to our kinship with the animal world, such as our inherent indolence, our tendency to vegetate, our clinging to the soil, and our subjection to passions like rage and fear. Our craving for the unseen, our spiritual aspiration and adventure, our striving to elevate ourselves are also a genuine part of our being, and are responsible for our mythologies and philosophies, religions, and arts. Throughout the course of human evolution, our spiritual longings have persisted and expressed themselves in varying forms from the crude stages of superstition, animism, and myth to the refined and complicated philosophical systems and ethical cultures of today.

Though there is much in us which may be regarded as our heritage from animal ancestry, man as man is different from the animal. Our vices and virtues are peculiarly human. When we make the pleasures of sense our aim in life, we are said to be more animal than human, but no animal can frame an ideal of a life of pleasure and pursue it in the way man can do. Again, there are cases where animals are more decent than men. There are certain things which are natural to the animals but which men have to acquire through deliberate effort and discipline. Animals rigidly subordinate sex to the function of reproduction. The savage and the primitive closely resemble the animal in this respect. The power of reflection and choice with which we are endowed opens great possibilities to us to rise on the animal heritage to the heights of heroism or fall into the depths of degradation. So when we talk about sinking to the level of the beast, we are using a figure of speech signifying our abuse of freedom in the interests of the needs which are common to men and animals.

The animal in us is ever striving to fulfil itself. When all impulses are perfectly satisfied, we have the full development of the animal being, the perfection of our animal nature. If we identify the self of man with the body and life-purpose with physical development, we are said to be barbarian, worshipping brute strength and power and idealizing the satisfaction of the passions. Such an exclusive culture of the body would coarsen the spirit and deprive it of its rights. The supremacy of physical prowess and development is the characteristic mark of barbarism. In such a society, men belittle and exploit women, for the latter are physically weaker, and women in their turn respect and pander to brute strength and prefer those known for their bravery and deeds of arms.

A community which gives greater importance to mind than to life and body is higher in scale. But unless the 'mind' is taken in a larger sense so as to include aesthetic development and ethical perfection, i.e. unless the mind is interpreted as one with spirit, we have not reached the ideal of civilization. Our knowledge may be increased, but it is used not for the sake of the higher spiritual ends but for the vital and physical satisfactions. Our life becomes dominated by the desire for the satisfaction of wants which steadily increase and the accumulation of possessions. The sort of mental life which prevails is at a low level. Emotional thrills and intellectual sensations, aesthetic occupations and mental excitements attract us and not deep appreciation of great literature and noble art. Mechanical plots, detective stories, crossword-puzzles allure and amuse us. The individual belonging to a community in this second level does not think for himself but acts in a conventional, unintelligent way. His moral nature is crude and undeveloped, being a mass of likes and dislikes, prejudices and prepossessions. Shaping his life by a mere compliance with conventional codes, he has no other standards than comfort and seemliness. Education is valued for its utility in fitting a man for success in the competitive economic struggle, science is respected for its useful knowledge, the comforts and conveniences which it makes possible, its power of organization and its capacity to devise machinery for increased production. The outer acquisition does not, however, bring about inner refinement. We have still wars—only they are no more contests of human arms but contests of machines. We are not so much brothers as beasts of prey, and, so long as our selfishness is unsubdued, we are more dangerous because our power for mischief has increased a thousand-fold. Being the slaves of conventions, we are servile in soul. When the group believes in the

absoluteness of its dogma or the superiority of its culture, the individual is ready to fight for them. Faith in force is the first principle, as the history of religious persecutions proves. If in such a society a few rise above its average and think that the ultimate goal of humanity is the creation of a world-family expressive of a universal God of love and the winning of men freely to want the good of the whole and propose to rule out force, they are treated as rebels and heretics, and society has a short way with them. The timid are frightened into submission and the dissentients are destroyed. This stage of society is one of economic or intellectual barbarism, since it confuses civilization with comfort, morality with convention, religion with routine, and politics with trade, exploitation, and opening of markets.

A community which is almost entirely preoccupied with life and body, physical and economic existence, scientific and technical efficiency to the exclusion of the higher humanistic ideals of mind and spirit is not truly civilized. Body, mind, and spirit form distinguishable aspects of an inseparable unity. Human nature is all of a piece, and unification of the three is the true aim of civilization. The conflict and the friction of the parts are not to be deplored but demand conquest and adjustment. Excellence of the body, its soundness and health are necessary for a perfect manhood; a sufficient social and economic organization is necessary for good life, but these are not ends in themselves. The universe has spent so much pain and struggle to produce human individuals who adore the good, the lovely, and the true and who are not content with a finished animality. The difference between the half-civilized and the civilized is all the distance between a narrow self-regarding individualism controlled by the animal impulses of self-preservation, self-assertion, and self-satisfaction and the self-forgetful

universalism devoted to the good of the whole. It is the transformation of the individual into the universal outlook, the linking up of our daily life with the eternal purpose that makes us truly human. The process is costly, but when the redirection of our whole nature to this universal end takes place, the yoke is easy and the burden light. A new kind of life, a new order of consciousness would begin as different from that which men now have, even as human life and consciousness are different from animal life and consciousness.[1]

There has not been in the history of the human race any perfect embodiment of barbarism or of civilization. No community is strictly savage or completely civilized. No human organization failed to develop its group ethos, its religious rites, and social forms. It is difficult to find traces of a race which does not distinguish between right and wrong, which has not the rudiments of morality and art. Civilization seems to be as ancient as savagery. We regard the Eskimo, the Red Indian, the Basuto, and the Fiji Islander as barbarous, simply because they had not risen to our conception of civil society with its schools and hospitals, law-courts and police-stations, but undoubtedly they exhibit an individuality in their modes of life, customs, and beliefs as much as the advanced Greeks and Romans or even the British and the Germans of today. We cannot call them savage or barbarian simply because their social organization was different, their knowledge of nature narrow, and their appliances crude. Even today we tend to regard politically backward nations as semi-civilized or semi-barbarian, on the assumption that the

1 If we adopt the Hindu terminology, we may say that a society which idealizes physical strength is *tamasa*, that which gives the first place to satisfactions (vital, physical, and economic) is *rajasa*, and that which regards spiritual freedom and growth as the chief aim *sattvika*.

test of civilization is political success or economic prosperity or skill in the destruction of human beings. Japan came to be regarded as highly civilized when she fought and defeated Russia, though, on this assumption, the Tartars who overthrew the Sung dynasty and the barbarians who overran the Roman Empire are also to be held up as models of civilized humanity.

While the crude beginnings of civilization exist even in the most primitive communities, civilized societies have surviving in them a large mass of barbarism. We look upon the Hun, the Goth, the Vandal and the Turcoman as barbarous, but we cannot be sure that at some future date a more developed humanity will not look back upon much of our present-day civilization with amazement and disgust as the superstitions and atrocities of an imperfectly civilized society. Even as we condemn the gladiatorial shows of the Romans, our descendants will condemn our joy at the angry disputes of animals, our prize-fights, not to speak of our 'refined' butchery called war.

Civilization is within ourselves, in our moral conceptions, religious ideas, and social outlook. We cannot call ourselves civilized simply because we use the steamship and the railway, the telephone and the typewriter. A monkey trained to ride a bicycle, drink a glass, and smoke a pipe is still a monkey. Technical efficiency has little to do with moral development. Though the achievements in exact science and mechanical organization of Ancient India or Greece or Medieval Italy are immensely inferior to ours, it cannot be denied that they had a truer perception of spiritual values and the art of life. If civilization is not to be confused with a feverish thirst for new things or a mad race for wealth, there are many salutary lessons in the art of living which we can learn from India or China or Ancient Greece. Not that the latter had not their own defects. The leisure and

enlightenment of the citizen-body in Greece was made possible by the exclusion from this privilege of the large body of artisans and slaves who followed the necessary but laborious pursuits of the community. Though the Hindu civilization by wise toleration of local customs and beliefs gradually absorbed the indigenous races of the country into a free and organic synthesis, it neglected the education of the backward people—Hindu ideals, however admirable, did not penetrate the mass of the people. In later times there was a sad falling away from the high ideals consequent on the stunting of free manhood under autocratic rule.

Modern civilization is in the stage of economic barbarism. It is concerned more with the world and its power than with the soul and its perfection. It asks us to make the best of the business in hand, for first and final principles are beyond our ken. It is an endless, anxious striving to perfect the exterior forms of existence, to exploit the economic potentialities of the earth, to spread far and wide material well-being and master the forces of nature for the ends of man. We have the assertion of mind over life and matter and not yet of spirit over mind, life, and body. To control life and body we have understood their processes and possibilities. In the first triumphs of scientific progress it tended to cast aside philosophy, despise thought, and almost succeeded in slaying religion. Though we are more learned and scientific than our ancestors, we cannot say that we are less brutal and more humane. Our education has not freed us from intellectual bondage. It stimulates the mind without satisfying it. We read poetry, devour fiction, and attend the movies; and think we are cultured. Our rationality is a pretence. We use our reason to bolster up our instincts. We invent excuses for what we want to do and set forth arguments for what we want to believe. We have great faith in 'going about

has refused to surround the adventures of war with that glamour which still persists among the European peoples. Assyria, sick with the fatal passion for more and ever more, for dominating the whole earth through military force, was wrecked because she attempted too much. Chronic war in ancient Greece brought her to an end. When Rome had conquered the whole known earth and was drawing her tribute unchallenged from East and West, she gained the whole world but lost her soul. The irresponsibility in marriage that marked the heyday of Roman luxury and the beginning of her slide down was outrageous. The wedding is recorded of a man who was taking his twenty-third wife and a woman her twenty-first husband. Marriages were contracted, annulled, and contracted again as if it were a matter of exchanging furniture. The thinkers among her people warned Rome about her spiritual thinness. The historian Livy declared: "We can endure neither our vices nor our remedying of them." Tacitus drew a lurid picture of that world in its despair. Juvenal pilloried it in biting satire, but the multitude did not listen to the still small voice, and the grandeur that was Rome became extinct. Empire after Empire perished as the result of its ambition to impose its dominion on the whole globe, and civilization after civilization declined on account of spiritual bankruptcy. The author of a Hindu text *Vishnu Purana* asks us to take thought and expect the advent of the next Avatar, Kalki, when society reaches a stage where property alone confers rank, wealth becomes the only source of virtue, passion the sole bond of union between husband and wife, falsehood the source of success in life, sex the only means of enjoyment, and outer trappings are confused with inner religion.[1] If the vulgar

1 *Artha eva abhijanahetuh, dhanam eva'seshadharmahetuh, abhiruchir eva dampatya sambandhahetuh, anritam eva vyavaharajayahetuh, stritvam eva*

and barbarous ideal persists too long, our life will become clogged and our civilization will perish of its own weight. The facts are clear and the laws of history are pitiless. They leave us no choice. Those who take the sword shall perish by the sword. When a civilization triumphs, it is more by the might of the spirit than by physical power. When it falls, it is through lack of spiritual vigour and vitality. So long as we put our hope in the sword and fail to rule by the power of the spirit, the future is gloomy. An acquisitive society with competition as the basis and force as the arbiter in cases of conflict, where thought is superficial, art sentimental, and morals loose represents a civilization of power (*rajas*) and not of spirit (*sattva*) and so cannot endure. Spiritual reconstruction alone can save the world heading for a disaster. The prophet's words come to our mind: "Turn ye, turn ye, why will ye die?" Shall we give the lie direct or add our testimony to Hegel's terrible epigram: "We learn only from history that mankind learns nothing from history." The future of civilization, nay, mankind, is in jeopardy. It is, however, plastic in our hands. It is up to us to make the world safe for humanity.

There is no need to despair. Our arrival on this planet is of recent date. No wonder we are only half-civilized. There is plenty of time ahead of us. Astronomers tell us that there is no reason to suppose that this planet will be uninhabitable or that the sun will fade in ten million years. If we go on progressing, not only physically and mechanically but also mentally and spiritually, the prospect for humanity is great indeed. I am optimist enough to hope that the present upheaval will in the end promote the good of the world. A frank analysis and a candid criticism of our civilization and its elements are necessary

upabhogahetuh, brahmasutram eva vipratvahetuh, lingadharanam eva asramahetuh (IV, 24, 21).

for any improvement. We should welcome the disturbance of lazy dogmatism, the challenging of tradition, and the vigorous polemic against those who would fetter the growing mind with the shackles of the past, for an honest confession of error is the prelude to all improvement. Though no one can see far into the future, the first steps of the long way before us may be traced, so far as we can discern.

4. RECONSTRUCTION

Religion

Every great constructive effort in religion is preceded by a strong wave of scepticism. The breaking up of tradition prepares the ground for the new venture of faith. All things are shaken that those which cannot be shaken may come to light. To exempt religion from the spirit of criticism is a futile undertaking. We cannot cure the mind by killing it. Mechanical orthodoxy as much as blank negation has no future. We can never get rid of religion. There is an insistent need in the human soul to come to terms with the unseen reality. So long as man is man, hoping and aspiring and reflecting on the meaning of existence and the responsibilities it entails, there is no fear of the loss of religion. It is only a question of its reformulation. We must devise fresh statements for universal truths which are in harmony with modern knowledge and criticism. We have the double task of overcoming the tyranny of tradition on the one side and avoiding the chaos of disruptive subjectivity on the other.

While we may dispute the validity of the causal argument when it attempts to prove that there is a first link in the temporal chain of causation, it is less questionable when it asserts the reality of a logical ground of existence or a primary underlying substratum which sustains the universe. While the teleological argument is absurd when it is put in the crude form ridiculed by Voltaire that the nose is designed as a support for spectacles, it is certainly not unworthy of consideration, if it says that the order and movement of the universe suggest evidence of plan and purpose and cannot be attributed to good luck. The scientific reading of the universe is by no means atheistic. Strictly speaking, science has little to do with the

fundamental problems of the world's ultimate being or its *raison d'être*. It renders an account of certain aspects of existence and leaves ultimate questions to other studies like philosophy and religion. If two equally permissible and reasonable interpretations of the cosmic process are possible, there is no reason why we should not choose the one more favourable to the unfolding of the highest potentialities of human beings. If we are loyal to the spirit and achievements of science, we are led to believe that there lies behind the cosmic process a spiritual reality which it is difficult to grasp and impossible to define. The endowment of matter with the attribute of life and the successive emergence of qualities like mind, intellect, and spirit show a steady onward direction, in spite of frequent degeneration and stagnancy, cruelty, and stupidity. The general direction of organic evolution is towards ever-increasing perfection. The qualities which we regard as valuable, such as improvement of mental life, the development of the social conscience, sensibility to suffering, harmony of parts are steadily growing. There seems to be an ethical trend inherent in nature itself. That such a spiritual interpretation of the cosmic process is no mere sentiment or subjective fancy comes out from the writings of scientific philosophers like Whitehead and Thomson, Oliver Lodge and Lloyd Morgan.

But science gives us a new vision of the unknown, the eternal towards which we have been blindly groping all these days. While it does not overthrow the old revelation, it disturbs the old dogmatism. It shatters the many images of God which man has made for himself, even while it asserts the reality of a spirit behind the cosmic process. The infinite is not to be conceived as a personal deity set up in the heavens or as a potter fashioning vessels of clay or even as a father rejoicing in the return of the prodigal. He is the universal principle of life

immanent in ourselves and all else that exists. He supports and penetrates the cosmos while infinitely transcending it. He mingles with the world as the salt with the sea or the perfume with the flower. He acts through well-established laws, whose operation is not suspended for the sake of this or that individual. If we fall into error no supernatural deliverer will come to our rescue. There is no forgiveness for a broken law. No single word can be unspoken, no single step retraced. The past is determined, however free the future may be.

The supreme presents itself in a variety of aspects to the human mind. The bewildering variety of Hindu theism and pantheism, the Buddhist developments of an impersonal law and a personal saviour, the old classical paganism with its personal gods and goddesses, the Hebrew faith in an inflexible Lord of righteousness, the Catholic Christianity with its somewhat distant personal deity and more immediate minor divinities from the Madonna to the Patron Saints, the Protestant view of a personal God, and the Muslim creed of a one and only God are the different ways in which men have tried to orient their relations to the unseen reality conceived as something higher, better, and more sovereign than the individual self. If we admit the diversity of human nature, we can easily understand this variety of the appeal of God to it and the utter futility of reducing all dogmas to one. Underlying all the diversity of dogmas is the undefined and the indefinable conception of an ultimate reality.

Diversity of religion is often made the pretext for hostilities, and attempts to have a common religion for all mankind have contributed not a little to the unrest and sorrow of the world. The passion to impose one's own opinion on others is natural to the selfish temper. To believe that we have the exclusive possession of truth or that our reading of the meaning of the universe is

accurate is an illusion of egotism. Every religion represents the soul of the people, the inner law of its being and aspiration. Each group has the divine within it into which it grows. When it comes into contact with others, it transforms their ideas and influences into something new. It is better to transform what we take from others than repeat what has been gained elsewhere. A single religion for all mankind will take away from the spiritual richness of the world. If we want to prevent the sterilization of the mind and the stagnation of the soul of humanity, we must not repudiate or refuse recognition to any one of the historical religions. "As many as are led by the spirit of God, these are the sons of God."

In matters of spirit, each one must follow the lead of his own conscience. The acceptance of freedom means the risk of error, but the errors are of their own making, painful but not useless attempts to find the truth. They can be corrected only by the constant endeavour to think persistently on the deeper questions.

The religion of the future must be a comprehensive one embracing within its scope all those who are religious-minded in sentiment, allowing them full liberty so far as creeds and thought-pictures are concerned. For religion is not so much a theory of the supernatural as an attitude of spirit, a temper of mind.

We shall be judged not by technical points of belief and doctrine but by life and character. The religious, to whatever denominations they may belong, share the same outlook and spirit. They possess a serenity which is undisturbed by the strokes of fortune. The essence of all spirituality is the greatness of soul which is unconquered even in overwhelming catastrophe. The strong in spirit are superior to the world which they have conquered. They can speak the truth under a shower of bullets and refrain from reprisals even when they are literally crossed.

They possess the universality of outlook which makes all attachment and self-interest stupid and superfluous. Sacrifice which does not count the cost, self-giving which does not ask for any return become their daily life. Most of us dismiss their self-denying heroism and serenity as too much for human nature or at best regard them as admirable ideals fit to console the defeated peoples like the fishermen of Galilee or the feeble minds of India but impossible of realization. But every religion has insisted on strenuous life and self-denial. Religion is not mere good form. The consolations which are cheaply won are not truly religious. To look upon life as an uninterrupted pursuit of enjoyment is the mark of irreligion. Suffering is not an accidental accompaniment of life, but is central to it. In pain and travail all high achievement is wrought. The end of life is not pleasure (*preyas*) but the realization of the good (*sreyas*). A life of joy and the joy of life are not the same. If suffering leads us to the fulfilment of our ideal, it is as much happiness as a life of pleasure is. The most poignant pain can be joyously accepted if it is recognized as contributory to the realization of one's ideals. As Goethe says: "The heights attract us, not the steps thereto." In minor matters we understand it. For most women physical discomfort is a lesser evil when compared with the defiance of fashion. They willingly face the ordeals of the beauty-parlour and the bootshop. Man is self-willed and the exercise of self-will is the prime necessity of his life. But his self-will is to be reconciled with the demands of the universe. It means conflict, struggle, and suffering, and all these are in the day's work.[1]

Every individual soul is an undeveloped entity, which, though not wholly emancipated from the animal instincts, is yet capable of transmuting them. By a willing acceptance

1 For a development of these views, see the writer's *Hindu View of Life*. George Allen and Unwin, London. 1927.

of the commanding claims of spirit and a discipline of our nature into conformity with its law, we achieve growth. A redirection of interest and re-education of the unconscious mind alone can transform us from carnal-mindedness into spiritual-mindedness. It means restraint and discipline. There is real temptation, genuine struggle involved in every transcendence of the natural man. But this transcendence is the condition of the fulfilment of personality. Though the effort is costly, the reward is great. This transcendence is a phenomenon common to all progress. From the pursuit of its prey by the amoeba to the spiritual struggles of the striving soul, we have a continuously graded series of purposive efforts. We choose the goal everywhere and adapt the means. Only at the human level we can do so consciously and deliberately.

Man is neither the slave of circumstances nor the blind sport of the gods. The impulse to perfection working in the universe has become self-conscious in him. Progress *happened* in the subhuman world; it is *willed* in the human. Conscious purpose takes the place of unconscious variations. Man alone has the unrest consequent on the conflict between what he is and what he can be. He is distinguished from other creatures by his seeking after a rule of life, a principle of progress.

It is by transforming ourselves that we shall be able to transform the world. The soul of all improvement, it has been rightly said, is the improvement of the soul. We need not leave the building of the new civilization to luck—it is a matter for cunning also. There is a good deal to be done yet. The world is unfinished in several respects. It lies with us to retard or hasten the progress. The lesson of evolution is clear. Life does not work according to any set programme, reaching satisfying climaxes in its progress. It wanders, hesitates, sometimes breaks off abruptly, and often returns upon itself. The processes

of nature are by no means economical. The history of the past tells us that, if we choose wrongly, we shall sooner or later be eliminated. Each of us can participate in the process of creating a better world, by understanding the purpose of the universe and identifying ourselves with it. Every individual is a unique entity possessing specific features and capable of contributing a distinctive good to the world. Self-finding is the essence of all perfection. By seeing life steadily and whole, we find our place in it. Each human individual is an association of qualities and functions whose focus can be variously situated and according as this centre is higher or lower, the person's character is superficial or deep. Whatever be the empirical foundations, the choice of the centre redeems them. It is by means of reflection and meditation that we seek a centre which can unify our nature, realize our specific place in the universe, and acquire the strength to play our parts, however humble and however arduous they may be. Hence the necessity for quiet contemplation and solitude.

Moral life is one of significance and social value. Mere instinctive reaction or impulsive activity is not moral conduct which must embody an idea or be significant. Crude materials of human nature must be shaped to spiritual ends. It is the form given to the material that matters. All expressions of human life are significant and every one of them is judged by its meaning and purpose. We cannot have any one conventional type or pattern. Each man sees the world from a different angle from that of his fellows. Whatever ideal we choose, we must recognize its nature and believe in its possibility, devise a plan of action, and with suffering and self-sacrificing ardour strive to realize it. Besides, the line of conduct to be moral must contribute to social preservation and harmony, which the process of evolution aims at. Any line of conduct which is destructive of the human race or promotes

discord cannot be regarded as moral. Moral life requires us to respect the dignity of every individual. It is the enrichment of life that comes from the recognition of others and adaptation to them. If Moloch did not prevent the Phoenician mothers from feeding on their babies, some other god would have done so. All men are exceptional beings. Uniqueness is a quality which all of us share. The goal of the world process is a harmonious unity in which each individual finds his specific realization.

The law of moral progress may best be expressed as one of acceptance and adventure. When we take up the individual unit, we find that there are so many passions and impulses as the raw material of human nature. Any ethical code, which calls upon us to repudiate this given endowment and destroy it, is not a satisfactory one. The given has to be accepted and on the basis of it we have to build higher. Man is never satisfied with mere acceptance or adjustment. There is an urge in his breast that makes him go forward and upward. The ultimate aim of life is not simply to maintain but to elevate the plane. The individual desires to live more and still more and surpass himself in order to reach plenitude of being. If moral life is defined as adjustment to the environment, then it cannot cease so long as the environment is changing. The forms of life which have occurred in the past cannot be repeated. Even if they can, it is not desirable to repeat them. The types of the Rajput warrior and the medieval knight are impossible under modern conditions. Even if we had a fixed and unvarying environment, our problem will not end; for our ideals are always changing. The essence of moral life consists not so much in adjusting ourselves to the environment as in transforming it so that it may embody our ideals to a larger and larger extent. Mere acceptance without adventure, mere adjustment without alteration may mean perfection of a

kind, peace of a sort but it is not the perfection of a human being or the peace of a spiritual nature. The moral hero is not the person who gets adjusted as the hard-shelled mollusc has so perfectly done but he who raises the level of his world until it conforms at least a good deal better to the level of what ought to be. There is, no doubt, beauty in perfect adjustment but it cannot last long in a changing and multiple world. The beauty of the innocent child inevitably gives place to that of the active youth, and this to the dignity of age, and so on. There is no resting on the road of life. Every achievement is a starting-point for something new.

This view is apparently in conflict with the traditional doctrines which believe in self-perfection as the aim of human endeavour. The objective was more solitary salvation than social redemption. Officialism in religion was perhaps largely responsible for this individualist emphasis. Society used religion as a sanction for its customs and institutions and many unable to find scope for spiritual growth had to flee from it to the desert or the forest, the monastery or the mountain top. So society stagnated, though here and there some individuals attained heights of perfection. But these cannot be said to be truly saved. We should be saved not only from anger and fear, pain and danger but also from loneliness and isolation. If we believe in the destiny of all human beings and their divine possibilities, we cannot rest until the world is redeemed. The central dogma of all true religion is the possible perfection of man, his inherent divinity, and the invisible solidarity of all living beings with each other in the life of God. The soul that has attained unity of spirit and strength has to spend itself not in self-satisfaction or inert compassion but active service. It is impossible for him to be at peace with himself so long as the world is unhappy and unredeemed. No one can attain perfect

inner harmony until the world outside is harmonized with him. So long as the ideal of a kingdom of God on earth is still unfulfilled, the saintly souls propel their whole being towards that which is outside themselves and push on the steady unfurling of the ideal on earth. No one is truly saved until the world is saved.

While virtue is a steady pursuit of something higher and higher, vice is self-satisfaction. The spirit of self-satisfaction is the infallible mark of an inferior mind. The worst thing that can happen to any one is to lose the consciousness of the higher ideal. So long as the call to rise is felt, however sinful one may be, one is capable of improvement. There is hope in the accusations of conscience. When they are stilled it is death we live in. The more developed a being is, the less satisfied is he with himself until the end is reached.

Any form of life where we have significance and social value is moral. We cannot reject any expression of human life, provided we have a disciplined realization of the ideal in that line. Perfection or the complete correspondence of the human soul with the ideal aim takes as many forms as human nature itself. The genius for sanctity manifests itself in diverse types. The Bhagavadgita holds that everything that is "glorious, good, beautiful, and mighty" is an expression of divine energy (X, 41). In Plato's world of forms there are numberless archetypes answering to the varied objects of the world. In the kingdom of heaven there are innumerable mansions.

In the struggle upward, we need not worry if we do not reach the end, for it is the play that matters and not the score we make. It is ours to do the duty and not get it done.

Evil is a negative conception. It is the lack or the insufficiency of good. It is growing good which marks the distance which good has yet to traverse. The opposition between good and evil is not an ultimate one. Strictly

speaking all conflict is between good and better, or bad and worse. There is no good and bad, but only higher and lower, superior and inferior. We must give up the attempt to affirm our own point of view at the expense of the others. The opponent is not to be dismissed as good for nothing but requires sympathy and understanding. It may be difficult to face opposition of our cherished ideals with good cheer but that is where the spiritual soul scores. He is not rebellious against the discrepancy between what is and what ought to be. His acceptance of life is not mere submission to what is but a glad acceptance of even those who reject it. He has not the tumult and despair of those who stand up for one form of life against another. For him intolerance is irreligion. He gives credit to the opponent for the same sincerity and disinterestedness that he claims for himself. A religion which believes not in a national God or a revengeful war-lord but in a universal spirit of love requires us to be patient and forgiving in the face of opposition and deal gently and spiritually with those with whom we come into conflict. We have a natural tendency to assume that any one who does not belong to our religion is a heretic or a heathen, any one who does not hold our prejudices a fool or a villain. A little understanding of the background, temperament, education and historical antecedents will help us to know why an individual holds an opinion he does and happens to annoy us. To understand the other man's point is not only to forgive him but to appreciate him and ultimately win him to a higher harmony. In Hindu mythology, Ravana and Hiranyakasipu are regarded as the incarnations of evil and yet they are deemed worthy of salvation. For in them we have prolonged and passionate attempts to live up to their own conceptions of heroism. Underneath the steely surface of Ravana and his feverish attempt to capture Sita and conquer Rama, we find an

infinite number of sensitive reactions and noble impulses. He had a remarkable respect for the personality of Sita. If he is a deadly enemy of Rama, let us remember that deep resentments are born only of deep wounds. We must check the tendency to be puffed up with the conceit of our own superiority to types which we have not troubled to understand. There are inexhaustible expressions of the creative activity of life. Every one of them has a unique value. In each type of activity we have good form and bad form. We have a right way and a wrong way of doing no matter what.

In God's world there is no such thing as unadulterated evil. When we are opposed by what is generally regarded as evil, it is wicked to be resentful. Our attitude in this matter should be one of acceptance and adventure. We must accept the world's evil with all the perfect sympathy and understanding of love. It is not a question of condescending charity or forgiveness but justice that is infinitely larger than either of them, a justice which accepts man for what he is and loves him in his weakness as well as strength and understands how a beautiful nature can be forced into what the world calls a crime or a sin. Which of us has the presumption to feel that he is morally superior to Eve in the Garden of Eden, distressing though the consequences of her conduct may be? If we were in that age and situation, we cannot be sure we should have acted differently. Acceptance of the *bona fides* of the worst villain in the world is the basis on which alone any adventurous co-operation is possible. The best way to handle your opponent is to believe in him. A truly spiritual soul has no fear or anger. It is not a Hindu *sannyasin* but a European philosopher who says that the more "a brave man understands natural things" as they really are, the better will he perceive that there is no place for fear or anger and that he need only "do good and rejoice",

but this life, Spinoza admits, is "as arduous as it is rare".

Besides, even the tallest trees do not touch heaven. The popular quatrain is quite true:

> "There is so much good in the worst of us
> And so much bad in the best of us,
> And it ill behoves any of us
> To find fault with the rest of us."

The best of us have some weakness, some disability, some inherited instinct, some error or extravagance in the assertion of our very virtues, and, if only the cosmic so wills, these weaknesses may be exploited producing tragic heroes who appeal to us ever so much not because we share their weakness but because fate, and not their faults, which are very common, is responsible for their crash. There have been instances of men whom the world has set down as irredeemably wicked who have amazed us by showing unsuspected sides of their nature akin to saintliness. These figures of fallen greatness and redeemed wickedness should make us more cautious in condemning others. The wickedness for many can be traced to the complicated social forces which we all help to create and yet for which no one of us is individually and directly responsible. The great artists show us how all failure is inevitable like Othello's. Besides, many of the unworthy acts are due to errors of the brain and not depravity of the heart. Mere condemnation or castigation does not help us. The passions and irrationalities which lurk beneath the surface can be controlled and sublimated only by a slow process of education into acceptance of new values and adjustments.[1]

1 The so-called 'sin' of the world has its place. A medieval saint called the Fall *beata culpa* ('blessed sin'), because it was the cause of the unveiling of divine love.

The modern revolt against conventional morals is a sign of the quickening of conscience. Changes in the moral codes are generally brought about by a few individuals who throw aside their prejudices and get at the reality which is much bigger and finer than our conventions make us believe. Every moral reformer is an immoral force in the eyes of the conservative who prefer the comfortable sloth of conventional morality to the alarming activity of reflective intelligence. For morality is nothing else but the current brand of social custom, and any one who insists on doing differently is immoral, though his immorality acquires ethical value in the next generation and becomes a part of the tradition in another. At any one period, we always have a few who are in advance of the highest life-conception of the time and some behind it, while a large number are about it. The first are the rebels, the second the criminals, and the last the normal individuals. All progress is due to the rebels. The conventionalists are satisfied with unexamined formulas and spend their time enjoying scandalous tales of others, tales which often reveal the reality of life as something which cannot be reduced to simple formulas. The Pharisees with their reputation for superior virtue and indifference to wrong do not help much. To lead a mechanical life is like wandering on a rocky surface where there is no green growth of charm or tenderness. It is good to be devoted to the moral code but it is wicked to be fanatic about it. It is our guide and beacon-light but, if we make a god of it, it will blind our reason and strand us in immorality. No progress is possible if the moral rules are regarded as sacrosanct. Life is a great adventure and not a set scheme. It is a game of which we can never know the rules precisely. No abstract laws will help us to lead the good life but only the living will which co-operates with the ends of evolution and the purpose of the universe.

The advance of knowledge and an intelligent understanding of the history of morals and social institutions are responsible for the present unrest. Many of the educated have come to feel that they obey a conscience they do not believe in and fulfil a duty that is meaningless to them. They defy the current conceptions of moral life anxious to bring about healthier habits. A mere shock to the feelings and prejudices of the average man is no argument against a new habit. When it is said that we are more lax than our ancestors we need not accept the proposition as entirely true or altogether discreditable to us. Ever so many things accepted by them as right are condemned by us as wrong. Our tastes have altered. There was a time when we sold our wives and thought it was right. The gentle Seneca was not much disturbed by the crucifixion of slaves. Though our recent war was not a whit less ferocious than, say, the Gallic campaigns of Caesar, we do not justify wars in the same easygoing way as Caesar did. In the sphere of morality, the lights are dim and the stars wander. But there is a sense in which we are distinctly inferior to some previous periods of our history. Our trouble is not that we do not conform to type but that we suffer from a deadly mediocrity. There is a marked triviality in our life and thinking. If our generation is to be redeemed from this grave deficiency, we should attempt to work at the heroic level, whatever line we choose. Heroism is not possible without hardness and austerity, discipline and renunciation, humanity and tolerance, in short, without conforming to the law of acceptance and adventure.

Family Life

The different aspects of human life, physical, vital, mental, emotional, aesthetic, and ethical, are sacred since they are the means for our growth towards diviner being. We

need not neglect the body or starve the vital self. We should aim at an ample and all-embracing expression of all sides of our nature in their highest forms. The sex-impulses are to be accepted by us as the raw material for the building up of the higher life, through the institution of marriage. A surrender to the drive of unconscious desire is a negation of form and of significance, is mere disorder and anarchy.

In a perfect marriage, the sexual act becomes sacramental, the outward sign of an inward grace. True love requires for its maintenance the presence of an over-arching end, the pursuit of a common ideal to the realization of which the lovers dedicate themselves. Husband and wife accept each other and evolve out of the given unlikenesses a beautiful whole. They have to make a joint effort to develop a true relationship and must be willing to meet the difficulties that arise in the course. If they are to succeed in the task, they must exercise patience and restraint, forbearance and charity, and be always vigilant. Though human passions are modified by intelligence, the modification is never complete. Man, at his best, is not so much a perfectly rational animal as an animal perpetually striving to be rational. Marriage as a form of life means joy as much as suffering. Divorces are due to a false idea that marriage is but a state of bliss and, when anything interferes with it, it must be ended. They are not generally due to infidelity and sexual errancy of either partner but to disharmony of temper and different preferences of life. If we recognize that the institution of marriage is for the purpose of furthering the growth of two individuals through obstacles and delays, we shall take every difficulty as a challenge to further effort. A perfect marriage represents the highest achievement of our purpose. It demands that we cling to each other in spite of mutual misunderstanding, wild moods and impulses, idiosyncrasies and unlikenesses, nay, I would add,

in spite of mutual sins. Divorces are always degrading. Weak and undeveloped souls who assume that health and happiness are the ends of human existence and not inner growth and perfection resort to divorce. Developed souls even when deeply wounded accept sorrow as something that strengthens while sordidness does not. Women have shown more forbearance than men. They forget faults and even crimes in the men whom they love. There is something spiritually fine about them which we would do well to acquire.

Children are a great help to the higher life. The instinctive love of parents for children manifests itself in an active companionship of feeling and experience with the children. The utter disregard and neglect of children by parents who pursue their own pleasures with little consideration of their duties to children is an abnormal development of recent times. We hear of State-nurseries for children but they can never be popular. Children require for their many-sided growth parental love and understanding. There can be no substitutes for parents. The deeper the spiritual life of the parents, the less will they want to be supplanted. The statistics of divorces show that the majority of cases are those of childless marriages. The longing for children is active in the majority of women and even men and so long as it is not killed, marriage will mean lifelong partnership.

Modern unrest rightly warns us that the fugitive and cloistered virtue, which is based on ignorance and external compulsion, is no virtue at all. Control based on knowledge is better than innocence due to ignorance. The modernists are right in their insistence that monogamy, though undoubtedly a great ideal, calls for further consideration when it forces on millions of women sexual penury or prostitution. There is as much irresponsibility in a rigid and rigorous marriage code as in a loose one. A uniform code of morals for both men and women

requires not a levelling down but a levelling up. Instead of women degrading themselves to the level of men, men should lift themselves up to the level of women. The new knowledge has freed women from the penalties which have been theirs throughout the ages, but this new freedom and knowledge, however dangerous, cannot wreck us so long as we face the facts with faith and courage. It is quite true that in the transition period we may have undesirable results. Modern school-girls are more alive to the development of the sex-life than those of the previous generations. Their professions of modernity shock the puritans. In colleges and schools where co-education prevails there are incitements to impropriety.

The real cause of women's unrest is that they miss their vocation. It was Byron who said: "Man's love is of man's life a thing apart: 'tis woman's whole existence." We generally believe that a woman's place is in her home, but homes are disappearing. The reduction of the household labour due to the machine and the displacement of the home by the hotel has permitted an enormous amount of energy to accumulate without an adequate object for its employment. The husband is more busy than ever. The wife has much idle time on her hands. In the absence of absorbing work, she becomes unhappy and neurotic, a mere waste product without meaning or purpose. We cannot blame her if she, with money and leisure, attempts to fill the empty hours with fun and folly, pleasure and personal gratification. Her old work has disappeared and the new has not arrived. Marriage is no more a sufficient or wholetime occupation. If the case with married women is so perilous,it is worse with the mass of unmarried women, childless widows, and of widows in individualistic society whose children leave them after maturity or marriage. The source of all the trouble is that women do not have enough to do. The poverty of an empty life is driving

them into unnatural channels and it is only just that they should be provided with congenial occupations.

The modern emphasis is wrong in its exaltation of the ecstasy of the flesh. Action which proceeds directly from the springs of emotion without passing through the discipline of reason is a return to the beginning, the animal and the brute. Passion should not usurp the seat of control which belongs to reason. Self-expression is not synonymous with sensuality. While it is theoretically quite correct to hold that we must be free and accept no restraints which do not spring from within, it is disastrous to allow young immature minds to practise it. Inner sanctions spring from outer ones and the freedom to disobey belongs only to those who have risen above the need for external sanctions. Before the individual acquires freedom, he must be assisted to discipline himself. The young and the immature cannot become a law unto themselves, contracting relationships according to the dictates of their immediate desires. Marriages are not to be entered into, lightly and carelessly, with false ideals of their nature and aim. The ultra-modernist conception of calling 'legal' a marriage which lasts only an hour is the height of the ludicrous. Trial-marriages are another name for licensed concubinage. They overlook not only the tradition of the past but the future goal of the race. Sexual satisfaction and not spiritual realization is regarded as the sole aim of marriage. In their first flush of enthusiasm and rebellion against restraints, men and women might take to them heartily, but when they grow mature, they will realize that it is not to their advantage either sexually or socially or spiritually.

Economic Relations

The abuse of a thing does not take away from the lawful use of it. Science is steadily placing in our hands

power and instruments whose intelligent use makes it possible for us to conserve human values in the face of the more violent aspects of nature. It will help to give the whole community the same opportunities of culture and enjoyment which the ancient Greeks had through the possession of slaves. Religion does not tell us that home-spun is better than mill cloth, or a bullock coach is superior to a motorcar. Only we should be careful that we do not develop any servitude to the machines. They should not be used as means by which human beings are confined to gloomy dungeons and smoky towns, unable to obtain a glimpse of green fields or blue sky.

The contrast between labour and leisure is due to the fact that we do not take interest in our work. There is not that full and active participation of the mind in the work which will make it pleasant. We put up with boredom in order to provide society with the necessities of life. We must make the work pleasant and the workers should take interest in the general management of the business.

The wants determining human behaviour are either material and economic as money, pleasure, position, and power, or social and spiritual as honesty, knowledge, fair-play, sympathy, understanding, justice, and service. We must adopt towards work not the attitude that it is mere business which requires to be regulated by material values, but the feeling that we are working for the society to satisfy its needs. The different workers, instead of drifting apart, should develop the vital sense that they belong to a living unity. We must overcome the lack of mutual understanding and achieve a more vital and all-pervading sense of the human and spiritual unity of life in the individual and the group. The various functional bodies should develop a community of feeling and be animated by a sense of interdependence.

Wealth is not all. It cannot buy the best things. The most desirable possessions, happiness of mind and heart, contentment and goodwill are beyond the purchase of money. The cult of the useful is not the only cult that matters in life. Men are not mere workers or producers of wealth. They are human beings and human values like love of beauty and cultivation of mind have an appeal to them. Unless we have mental peace and freedom, external accomplishments do not help us. In our anxiety to improve the material lot of man, we are concentrating on the change of institutions and the externals of the complex mechanism of modern existence. But no improvement in social institutions and mechanical organizations can help us, if the quality and quantity of human desirables are not raised. Science helps us to get rid of the squalor and bareness of lives and attain leisure but let us learn to use our leisure in the proper way. Right education can help us here.

Politics

Democracy rightly understood is the self-government of the community. To be least governed is to be best governed. Those who do not take an idealistic view of human nature call for increased governmental control. If we are impressed with the dignity rather than the savagery of human nature, we shall not regard the external machinery as a check on our nature. All government is a means to self-government.

Democracy is said to set the general will as sovereign but the general will cannot decide technical issues as Tariff reform or the Indian constitution. Democracy has succeeded in several countries simply because it is not true democracy. It is yet an ideal. When we accept it as a working principle, we mean that there are inalienable rights belonging to human personality as such, which must be respected in our dealings with all persons, what-

ever their sex or calling may be. Individuality is sacred and each individual should be allowed to develop his nature. Each man should be able to get near to the highest he is capable of. Democracy does not mean that all men irrespective of their innate endowments, special traits or personal efforts are equally fitted to judge of the values of things in philosophy and literature, art and science, law and polity. We cannot decide the truth of Einstein's theory by a popular vote. Simply because man is a rational being, there is no security that he will always act reasonably or employ his reason with special reference to all subjects. Democracy does not mean that we are all equal. Men are born unequal in physique and intellect. Men for all time will be unequal. They will be fat or lean, tall or short, great or small. Differences can never be abolished. It is also true that no social organization can give absolute equality of opportunity. For, realization of opportunity depends on the social situation in which an individual finds himself and his reactions to it. Yet, equality of opportunity is a sound social ideal. We must remove the barriers of ignorance and poverty and allow great art and literature to penetrate with their deepest roots into the heart of the people. We must raise the cultural level of the country and help each to find his self and attain unity of feeling, thought and will. Democracy is not a natural state but an ideal to be achieved through effort and education. Its present weakness as a political arrangement is due to the failure of the individual voter in regard to honesty and intelligence. With the improvement of the intelligence of the voters and the honesty of the leaders, democracy may become more successful. However much it may fall short of an ideal perfection, it is better than the forms of government which prevailed in the past, if we leave aside short periods of benevolent despotism. It promotes social peace and stability, as all criticism and

discontent are ventilated by the share which the voters have in the direction of affairs.

International Relations

The realization of the human commonwealth cannot be achieved by the utterance of conventional platitudes, pious hopes and beautiful phrases. Cultivation of brotherhood and fellowship among the nations is the indispensable prerequisite. Misunderstanding and pseudo-patriotism are now doing the deadly work. The nation we hate is the nation we do not know. When Newman as a child watched the French prisoners from the Napoleonic wars march through the streets of the city of London, he tells us how he noticed that men amongst the dense onlooking English crowds would quite seriously lift up the French soldiers' greatcoats from behind—to discover their tails. So simply and so seriously did the Englishmen believe the French to be apes. We see in our antagonists, if not monkeys' tails, at least their equivalents in special racial qualities. Our enemies are not human beings but fiends incarnate. We have had recently a sensational book about India indicting the whole people and justifying their perpetual subjection, if not removal from the earth's surface. I am afraid that Carlyle's pungent metaphor, that nations, like dogs, seem to approach each other sometimes only to sniff at the shameful parts, is not out of date. The peace of the world depends not so much on signed documents and paper conventions, economic treaties and political combinations as on the drawing together of the minds and consciences of cultured men and the growing commerce of knowledge and ideals. While we have differences with our neighbours, so long as we are devoted to material success and commercial prosperity, we feel the kindred throb of human nature when we turn to those treasures of the soul, those delights of mind which

are not diminished by sharing. They alone will assuage the bitterness of economic strife and incline us to that understanding and sympathy which are the world's only security.

In addition to the fostering of oneness of thought and feeling, national psychology in its attitude to war requires to be altered. We need not believe the sceptic who says that the human race has always relied on wars and will always do so. So said the advocates of cannibalism. The human race has always eaten human flesh and always will. So said the supporters of slavery and duelling, etc., etc. We can slowly change men's minds. Pacifism or internationalism is not a scientific device like the wireless or the telephone which the world can, all on a sudden, take to. It is a delicate plant which it takes long to rear. Patience and forbearance, mutual understanding and respect are necessary for its growth. From the nursery we must train people to believe in the oneness of humanity. We must develop in them the will to peace and declare that wars mean a house divided against itself. They set in artificial antagonism, what Providence and nature plainly intended to be one. "Since ye are brethren, why do ye wrong one another?" The false glamour which human ingenuity casts on the primitive instinct of pugnacity, involving spoils to the few and suffering to the many, must be exposed. We must insist on a heightened sense of the sanctity of life. We must realize that wars, by accustoming us to violence, rouse in the hearts of the masses the bitter passions which civilization is struggling to subdue. Violence, physical or otherwise, arises from the lower, appetitive nature, is devoid of significance and is destructive of all social value.

Patriotism which adopts the policy of our country, first, last, and all the time, is a soporific blinding us to the higher vision of humanity. *The Chicago Tribune* has for

its motto "Our country. In her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right: but our country right or wrong." We are not disputing the rightful place of national pride and self-respect. It is national arrogance and intolerance that are dangerous. It is false patriotism that excuses everything and sets the State above the moral law. The impudent theory of State Absolutism, which maintains that the State can do no wrong, that it is above criticism and all its wars are righteous is the substance of irreligion. And yet this is the religion of the modern world, which has asked so much of its adherents. No other religion ever demanded such gratuitous and wholesale human sacrifices. The Bolshevists aim at the redemption of the whole of humanity, irrespective of race or nationality. They look upon Russia not as a nation but as a mission for the propagation of their faith. So far as they loosen the strength of mere patriotism, they walk in the right direction. It is Lessing who said: "Patriotism is a heroic weakness which it is well to be without." There is a higher law than that of might and a higher love than the conceit of patriotism. Loyalty to one's own country is not incompatible with the larger loyalty to mankind as a whole. Nations are the natural units of mankind and each of them is driven forward by an impulse derived from its own special past and historical tradition. Only an excessive particularist allegiance is dangerous. To praise one's own country must be regarded as no less vulgar than praising one's own self. It is no use praising our own institutions and opinions like inferior commercial agents. Nationalism is neither vainglory nor intolerance.

There are two ways in which the realization of the world-unity can be brought about, world-dominion or world-commonwealth. The former is impossible as nationalism is a standing barrier to its realization. This dream cannot be fulfilled without a fight to the death in which

the world might perish. Why should the rest of the world be reduced to ruin, that a great race may prove its greatness? The methods of war are too costly, too drastic and no single empire has the means or the strength to overcome the rest of the world. After all, the author of the universe has not made mankind a homogeneous whole. He has made the nations of different races. But there is an easier and more reasonable way of merging national aims in a higher synthesis and international endeavour. Every people must play its part in this enterprise. Humanity must be made up of organized national wholes. The international order must be based on justice. To assume that the position of Europe will be menaced if Asia follows her example with success and resists economic exploitation and political invasion is a queer kind of logic. Our patriotism is the will of the gods; other peoples' patriotism is the work of the devil! If any country refuses to accept the existing forms of exploitation, we call her a peril. The security of the world is based not on the slavery of some nations but on the freedom of all. National freedom is the indispensable prerequisite of international co-operation. The genius of each people has a right to recognition and it must be the aim and endeavour of the whole world to grant freedom to all nations. It may be that some parts of the world are more backward than others. Their weakness should not be used as our opportunity. A nation which bullies a weak neighbour is just as guilty in the eyes of all honest men as the man who takes advantage of his helpless neighbour. Like individuals, nations need sympathy. The attitude of politically advanced nations to the peoples who are struggling to free themselves from age-long prejudices should be one of sympathy and service and not of patronage and control. The awakening of the Orient is not to be regarded as a menace to Europe. China

is in a ferment. India's independence is only a question of time. Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan are fast getting modernized, and all this is for the good of the world. No nation can live regardless of others. The interdependence of nations is increasing rapidly and faith in the destiny of humanity must fire us with the enthusiasm to fight against oppression and injustice wherever they are found.

Worthy ideals are not enough but a working technique is also necessary. The League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact are useful as means for educating public opinion. There is, however, a deep-rooted and widespread suspicion that the League is only an instrument of the *Allied* nations devised for the purpose of maintaining and defending the *status quo*. It is not generally accepted that it is an institution pledged to work for providing better conditions of freedom and security for *all* nations. The value of the Kellogg Pact is considerably diminished by the observation of its author that each nation "alone is competent to decide whether circumstances require recourse to war in self-defence." If we are to give up war as an instrument of State policy, we should do so without any reservation, whatsoever. There can never be a just war. We must give up war as an instrument of State policy. We should not justify it even when undertaken for purposes of defence. Defence may be made to include prospective dangers and thus justify aggression. We cannot draw a line between light and darkness in a land where all is grey. Again, violence is bound to be followed by counter-violence and truth has little chance of prevailing. We are bound to have conflicts so long as nations move in orbits of their own. In their search for new and ever-expanding markets, the nations of the world are bound to meet one another competitively at every cross-road on the earth's surface. But the conflicts should be settled by reason and not by force. We must develop a common code of law, establish a

supreme court that would pronounce judgements that would command universal assent, and organize a police that would enforce its decrees. So long as the Great Powers are not prepared to relinquish a jot or title of their sovereignty which they are ready to uphold by force, whenever necessary, the League and the Pact are all a mockery.

Religious idealism seems to be the most hopeful political instrument for peace which the world has ever seen. We cannot reconcile men's conflicting interests and hopes so long as we take our stand on duties and rights. Treaties and diplomatic understandings may restrain passion but they do not remove fear. The world must be imbued with a love of humanity. We want religious heroes who will not wait for the transformation of the whole world but assert with their lives, if necessary, the truth of the conviction "on earth one family", heroes who will accept the motto of the great Stadtholder: "I have no need to hope in order to undertake; nor to succeed in order to persevere."